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***Poturica gori od Turčina* or...?  
The Influence of Islam on “Our Muslims”  
in Serbian Nationalistic Discourse  
(Review from the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the 1920s)**

ABSTRACT

The article aims to show the issue of the influence of Islam on “our Muslims,” as one of the most important heritage of the Ottoman Empire in the Balcan Peninsula, in the Serbian nationalistic discourse. The analysis includes the discourse from the period of the national revival (Vuk Karadžić and Ilija Garašanin), the Austro-Hungarian administrative in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Milenko M. Vukićević and Serbian magazines), travelogues (Georgije Magarašević and Spiridon Gopčević) and geography, ethnographic and ethno-psychological research (Jovan Cvijić, Jovan Hadži Vasiljević and Čedomil Mitrinović) which considers the case of *poturice*—Serbian converts. The text shows how the stereotypical influence of Islam was duplicated and altered from the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

KEYWORDS

Turks, *poturice*, *poturica gori od Tučina*, Serb Muslims, Muslims, Islam

## Introduction

The Ottoman heritage is still perceptible in almost every social and cultural aspect in the Balkan Peninsula. One of the most significant Ottoman influence over that region is probably the confession of Islam. Some South Slavs converted to Islam under the authority of the Turkish Empire in the Balkans, therefore, Muslims, both ethnic Turks and Slavs, were denoted “Turks” (*Turci*) to show their connection with a regime based on the alien religion. However, in Serbian nationalistic and mythological dictionary “Turks” meant the worst enemies, occupiers who were guilty of fall of the medieval Serbian Empire and low position of Serbian nation from the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>1</sup>

Next to *Turci*, Islamized local Slavs were additionally recognized as *poturice*—Turkishness. They became Turks by Islamization but, in biological point of view, still stayed Serbs (two lexemes, Slavs and Serbs, were treated as synonyms in the Serbian national discourse). Because of those roots, *poturice* became even most dangerous enemies than the ethnic Turks. We could see it in the stereotype of “worse *poturica* than Turk itself” (*poturica gori od Turčina*). Its belief was—they adopted the new religion and culture to improve or keep their positions in the social hierarchy so they were worse part of the nation as they betrayed their own Slavic race.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, Islam had to corrupt them. The conversion made them fanatical therefore they thought they were better than the Turks and that position gave them cause to exploit, like Turks, non-Muslim rayah (*raja*), it means their “old brothers,” who were at the bottom of the ladder.<sup>3</sup>

In the Balkan Peninsula religion was (also the whole tradition associated with), and still is, the most crucial factor in division its societies and also a fac-

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<sup>1</sup> M. Šuica, *Percepcija osmanskog carstva u Srbiji*, [in:] *Imaginarni Turčin*, ur. B. Jezernik, Beograd 2010, pp. 285–286, 289–291; H. Kamberović, *Turci i kmetovi – mit o vlasnicima bosanske zemlje*, [in:] *Historijski mitovi na Balkanu. Zbornik radova*, ur. H. Kamberović, Sarajevo 2003, p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> The betrayal was the central theme of the Serbian folk epic and the Kosovo myth. The codification of the Kosovo folk myth, in which *poturice* were the main traitors (they were the updated character of Vuk Branković), was done by Petar II Petrović Njegoš in his poem the Mountain Wreath (*Gorski vijenac*). From the poem we could find out that Islam was adopted by cowards and greedy (*isturči se plahi i lakomi*). See: B. Zieliński, *Serbska powieść historyczna. Studia nad źródłami, ideami i kierunkami rozwoju*, Poznań 1998, pp. 59–64; A. Kola, *Mito-logika pamięci, czyli o Kosowie w „Górskim wieńcu” Petara II Njegoša raz jeszcze (pasaże strukturalistyczno-konstruktywistyczne)*, „Litteraria Copernicana” 2016, nr 3 (19), p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> O. Milosavljević, *U tradiciji nacionalizma ili stereotipi srpskih intelektualaca XX veka o „nama” i „drugima”*, Beograd 2002, pp. 193, 203.

tor in the perception of “better us” and “worse they.” The dichotomy was an essential way to create unfavourable theories about the personality of *poturice*. Slavs neophytes were at the same time “ours” because of Serbian heritage and “alien” due to Islam which was considered something outside and negative but something which played a key role for “our world.” That is why the destructive influence of Islam was a dominant feature and the stereotypical image was more negative than the image about Turks.<sup>4</sup> This perception of one of the most perceptible Ottoman influence has been many times updated in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The purpose of the article is to show how the stereotype based on religion was duplicated or altered by one of the most important Serbian activists as Vuk Karadžić, Ilija Garašanin, Milenko M. Vukićević, Georgije Magarašević, Spiridon Gopčević, Jovan Cvijić, Jovan Hadži Vasiljević and Čedomil Mitrović.<sup>5</sup>

### **Serbs and *Poturice* from the Second Half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century to the First Years of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century**

Liberation from the Ottoman Empire and Slavic unification were a basic assumption of the Serbian national revival in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. What was interesting—Muslims were the group that the most significant Serbian activists started to seek.<sup>6</sup> Serbian liberation, based on the folk epic and the Kosovo myth (mythicized memory of medieval Serbian Empire and tradition of fight with the Ottoman Turks), supposed not only to revive Serbian statehood but, first of all, unite in a struggle against the Ottoman Empire other South Slavs considered Serbs and called “Serbs” or “brothers” (*braća*).<sup>7</sup> In this conception, the Orthodox supposed no longer to be the only factor to define what the Serbian nation should consist of. Its position seized the Serbian language (exactly Shtokavian which have the largest range over the South Slavs) which was derivative

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<sup>4</sup> A. Pajdzińska, *My, to znaczy... (z badań językowego obrazu świata)*, „Teksty Drugie. Teoria, literatura, krytyka, interpretacja” 2001, nr 1 (66), pp. 38, 45–46; E. W. Said, *Orientalizm*, tłum. W. Kalinowski, Warszawa 1991, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> The role of the myth “*poturica gori od turčina*” in the Serbian nationalistic discourse was studied, for example, by Olivera Milosavljević (op. cit., pp. 201–208). The issue of “Serb Muslims” has a special place in Serbian discourse and is a very broad topic. In this text, only the representative authors who in their works directly referred to the influence of Islam, were chosen.

<sup>6</sup> H. Kamberović, *Turci i kmetovi...*, op. cit., p. 69.

<sup>7</sup> L. Moroz-Grzelak, *Bracia Słowianie. Wizje wspólnoty a rzeczywistość*, Warszawa 2013, p. 135.

included to Serbian liberation mythology. Thanks to the language, the concept of “Serbs three faiths” could be pushed through.<sup>8</sup>

The theory that the Serbian language should be a main basic of Serbian nation started to be binding, meanwhile, religion, exactly Orthodox folk tradition, had never been completely withdrawn. It was, next to the language, an important factor to specify Serbs, particularly Serb Muslims. It determined ethnic and biological descent but also was a sign of share common historic tradition which should not be forgotten because of conversion and which was shared thanks to Serbian language.<sup>9</sup> Due to the Serbian roots treated simultaneously as Slavic, it means due to the tradition of fighting with Ottoman Turks and remember the sacrifice of national heroes, Muslims could be incorporated into the Serbian nation.<sup>10</sup> Excluded as well. Everything depended on their attitude towards the Christian brothers. “When you talk with me as my brother Bosniak (*Bošnjak*; then it was a demonym and the term for converts or Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina), I am your brother and your friend, but when you talk with me as a stranger, as an Asian (*Azijatin*), as an enemy of our family and ethnonym, I oppose it.” This declaration Petar II Petrović Njegoš wrote to Osman-paša Skopljak, vizier of Skadar, in 1847.<sup>11</sup> The obligation to return to Orthodoxy (*vjera prađedovska*) under the threat of death and dictate to fight with the Ottoman enemies, were conditions to come back to Serbian nation and became the central motive of Njegoš’s *Mountain Wreath* (*Gorski vjenac*).<sup>12</sup> The Price-Bishop of Montenegro did not accept the concept of various religion in the Serbian nation, despite Serbian roots, and presented a vision of, admittedly mythological, emancipated pure religious Serbian state without treacherous *poturice*.<sup>13</sup> Just to mention, expelling Muslims from the Serbian nation is a rare case.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> D. Gil, *Ewolucja i funkcje idei narodu w Serbii od schyłku XVIII w.*, „Slavia Meridionalis” 2017, No. 17, p. 3, [online] <https://doi.org/10.11649/sm.1325> [accessed: 21.08.2019].

<sup>9</sup> Ibidem, pp. 3–4.

<sup>10</sup> O. Milosavljević, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>11</sup> „[...] Kada sa mnom govoriš kako moj brat Bošnjak, ja sam tvoj brat, tvoj prijatelj, ali kada govoriš kao tuđin, kako Azijatin, kako neprijatelj našega plemena i imena, meni je to protivno [...]” [All translations, unless otherwise noticed, were made by the author]. *Njegoš Osman-paši Skopljaku*, [online] [https://www.rastko.rs/rastko-cg/povijest/njegos-pismo\\_skopljaku.html](https://www.rastko.rs/rastko-cg/povijest/njegos-pismo_skopljaku.html) [accessed: 20.04.2019].

<sup>12</sup> See the second footnote and D. Gil, *Prawosławie, historia, naród. Miejsce kultury duchowej w serbskiej tradycji i współczesności*, Kraków 2005, pp. 119–120.

<sup>13</sup> I. Čolović, *Smrt na Kosovu Polju. Istorija kosovskog mita*, Beograd 2016, pp. 168, 174; B. Aleksov, *Poturica gori od Turčina: srpski istoričari o verskim preobraćenjima*, [in:] *Historijski mitovi...*, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>14</sup> O. Milosavljević, op. cit., p. 201.

Vuk Karadžić, who played the most important role during the Serbian national movement and grounded the concept of "Serbs three faiths,"<sup>15</sup> in his article *Serbs All and Everywhere (Srbi svi i svuda)* from 1849 claimed that *poturčenici* were pious like they used to be while being Orthodox and "probably there are no such pious people than *Bošnjaci* among the confessors of Islam."<sup>16</sup> It means that old folk religious tradition or religion itself determines certain behavior patterns and traits (as well as Islam), as it was already mentioned, mainly an obligation to fight with Ottoman Turks for restoration the old golden times. Although Njegoš based on Karadžić's love the folk tradition, only the second national activist changed the attitude towards *poturice*.<sup>17</sup> Since Muslims had been hegemonically included to the Serbian nation by Karadžić, they had to fulfill Serbian historic duties. In other words, as they were called "Serbs" in his propaganda, they had to be "real Serbs," not *poturice* or *poturčenici* so the influence of Islam should be negligible or not predominant. An exchange of words "Turks" and *poturice* for "Serbs" might help change the old perception of "others" as the use of specifics term describing "others," that have a positive or negative meaning, plays a huge role in perception.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, even Karadžić did not throw away from his dictionary the negative word. For him, they could be Serbs but Serbs bearing the mark of Ottoman heritage. However, he probably wanted to familiarize the popular lexeme because he might have Huseinbeg Gradašćević in mind.<sup>19</sup>

Gradašćević, "the Dragon of Bosnia" (*Zmaj od Bosne*), was seeking for Bosnian autonomy and opposing the Ottoman military reforms and privileges given to Serbia after Serbian risings.<sup>20</sup> For today's Bosniaks, he is a hero who fought for the independence of Bosnia.<sup>21</sup> One of the main streets in Sarajevo,

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<sup>15</sup> M. Dąbrowska-Partyka, *Literatura pograniczna, pogranicza literatury*, Kraków 2004, p. 152.

<sup>16</sup> „[...] Kao što su ovi poturčenici prije u hrišćanskome zakonu bili pobožni, tako isto postanu i u turskome, i danas može biti da u cijelome zakonu Muhamedovu nema pobožnijih ljudi od Bošnjaka: to pokazuje i današnja njihova nepokornost Sultan-Mahmutu i mrzost na nj i na njegove nove uredbe i premjene” (V. Karadžić, *Srbi svi i svuda*, [in:] *Ideja o Velikoj Srbiji: od Ilije Garašanina do Tomislava Nikolića. Izvori velikosrpske ideologije, politike i agresije*, ur. Z. Despot, D. Tatić, Zagreb 2012, pp. 68–69).

<sup>17</sup> O. Milosavljević, op. cit., pp. 50, 53–54.

<sup>18</sup> A. Pajdzińska, op. cit., pp. 45–46.

<sup>19</sup> M. Demirović, *Bosna i Bošnjaci u srpskoj politici*, Bihać 1999, p. 81.

<sup>20</sup> V. Bišćević, *Bosanski namjesnici osmanskog doba (1463–1878)*, Sarajevo 2006, pp. 358–359 and next.

<sup>21</sup> D. Agičić, *Bosna je... naša! Mitovi i stereotipi o državnosti, nacionalnom i vjerskom identitetu te pripadnosti Bosne u novijim udžbenicima povijesti*, [in:] *Historijski mitovi...*, op. cit., p. 157.

famous during the last war “Sniper Alley,” bears his name. Despite this, Serbian researchers, even nowadays, claim that his rebellion from 1831 against the Ottomans has “Serbian national sign” (*srpsko nacionalno obeležje*) because it was a part of Serbian liberation aimed to include Bosnia to Serbia.<sup>22</sup> Gradašćević’s case shows that calling him and other Ottoman Bosniaks “Serbs” in various Serbian publications might be a counterbalance for the negative stereotype of *poturice*, a proof for “Serbs three faiths” theory and an attempt to include “other” world in “our.”<sup>23</sup> Karadžić might try to enter Muslims from multi-generational Islamic families which converted to Islam many years ago in Serbian history and created a new canon of national heroes without the stereotypical image.<sup>24</sup>

The national unity of Serbs and Muslims has become one of the assumptions of the first political programme of Great Serbia—Ilija Garašanin’s *Načertanije* from 1844.<sup>25</sup> The Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina should be convinced for the struggle for the reconstruction of the medieval Serbian Empire and Slavic unification under the Serbian aegis.<sup>26</sup> For this purpose, it was necessary “publication of a short and general history of Bosnia which should include the fame and names of some Bosniaks who converted to Islam. It is obvious that it must be written in the spirit of Slavic nationality and national unity of Serbs and Bosniaks.”<sup>27</sup> Although *Načertanije* was secret until 1906, convince Muslims of their (alleged) origin became a political goal. It was believed that effective agitation would turn into pro-Serbian political action.<sup>28</sup>

Karadžić’s and Garašanin’s propaganda regarding the Serbianness of Muslims and their unification with Serbs was particularly active during the Austro-Hungarian period (1878–1914), especially after the Radical Party came to power in Serbia (the nineties of the 19<sup>th</sup>). First of all, it was the time of Benjamin Kallay’s politics of *bošnjaštvo* (he was an Austro-Hungarian minister of finance and administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1882 to 1903).

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<sup>22</sup> S. Jarčević, *Bivši Srbi – rimokatolici, muslimani, Rumuni, Crnogorci*, Novi Sad 2007, pp. 54–55.

<sup>23</sup> Croatian activist and writers did the same. The example is Josip Eugen Tomić’s novel *Zmaj od Bosne* from 1879. See: I. Banac, *Nacionalno pitanje u Jugoslaviji. Porijeklo, povijest, politika*, prev. J. Šantija, Zagreb 1988, pp. 339–340.

<sup>24</sup> See more about the romantic historicism of Karadžić: B. Zieliński, op. cit., pp. 54–59.

<sup>25</sup> M. Dąbrowska-Partyka, op. cit., p. 153.

<sup>26</sup> L. Moroz-Grzelak, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>27</sup> „[...] štampati kratka i obšta narodna istorija Bosne u kojoj ne bi smela izostaviti slava i imena nekih muhamedanskoj veri prešavši Bošnjaka. Po sebi se predpostavlja da bi ova istorija morala biti spisana u duhu slavenske narodnosti i sa svim u duhu narodnog jedinstva Srba i Bošnjaka” (I. Garašanin, *Načertanije*, [in:] Z. Despot, D. Tatić, op. cit., p. 62).

<sup>28</sup> M. Dąbrowska-Partyka, op. cit., p. 155.

It was a national project of a community of three major ethnic groups in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For each group religion was an important basis for creating separate national identities. Thus, religion, Serbian propaganda of unification and anti-Kallay's attitude became the basis for the Bosnian Serbs' fight for religious and educational autonomy from the 1896 century to 1905.<sup>29</sup> Second of all, new educated classes of Serbs, Croats and Muslims appeared then in Bosnia and Herzegovina and started to be active at the same time with local political circles. They tried to form their own national identity through literature because of Kallay's politics they could not act on the more open front at least until the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Their activities focused around Bosnian magazines e.g. "Behar," "Nada," "Bosanska vila" or "Zora."<sup>30</sup> Due to the fact that a new Muslim elite began to form (they created their own identity based on Islam or called themselves Croats<sup>31</sup>), the Serbian magazines "Bosanska vila" and "Zora" began nationalizing Muslims. It was particularly important when, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Muslims and Serbs started to cooperate in the struggle for religious and educational autonomy (the alliance survived until around 1910).<sup>32</sup> What more, it was also a time when some Muslims started to call themselves Serbs (it was an emigration Muslim community in Belgrade or Tsargrad,<sup>33</sup> for example, after the uprising in Herzegovina in 1882).<sup>34</sup> Therefore, pro-Serbian oriented confessors of Islam started to be especially needed for propaganda in Bosnia and Herzegovina but also in Serbia.<sup>35</sup>

"Bosanska vila" from Sarajevo, which was the first magazine of Serbs from Bosnia and Herzegovina, published, among other things, various proverbs, phraseology and sections about Serbian national customs, to indicate the Slavic heritage of Muslims, it means the heritage before Islamization. Also, Pro-serbian-oriented Muslims, such as Osman Đikić, Avdo "Srbin" Karabegović,

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<sup>29</sup> I. Banac, op. cit., pp. 336–337; I. Hadžibegović, M. Imamović, *Bosna i Hercegovina u vrijeme austougarske vladavine (1878–1918)*, [in:] *Bosna i Hercegovina od najstarijih vremena do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata*, ur. I. Tepić, Sarajevo 1998, pp. 266–268.

<sup>30</sup> I. Lovrenović, *Bosnia. A Cultural History*, trans. S. Wild Bičanić, New York 2001, pp. 150, 152.

<sup>31</sup> I. Banac, op. cit., p. 340.

<sup>32</sup> I. Hadžibegović, M. Imamović, op. cit., pp. 268, 271.

<sup>33</sup> M. Demirović, op. cit., p. 191.

<sup>34</sup> It was an uprising against the new military law which assumed military service for the Austro-Hungarian army. This uprising was the first collaboration of Serbs and Muslims. See: I. Hadžibegović, M. Imamović, op. cit., pp. 233, 236.

<sup>35</sup> See more: Dž. Juzbašić, *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*, Sarajevo 2002, pp. 184–191.

Avdo Karabegović Hasanbegov and Omer-beg Sujemnapašić Skopljak,<sup>36</sup> a relative of Osman-paša Skopljak, the recipient of the letter from Njegoš,<sup>37</sup> published their Serbianness poems in "Bosanska vila" and "Zora." Nationalizing Muslims consisted in, above all, taking over their folk literature and treating it as Serbian (like Karadžić did). That is why, the poems of above-mentioned "Serb Muslims" were very welcome, especially because they used terms "Serbs," "brother" or "brothers of one blood" which showed the national unity in their literary production. It is interesting because both magazines supposed to be "places" of meetings the Serbian literary circles but became a way of expression of national identity and opposition to the Kallay's project, like "Zora" from Mostar publishing from 1896 to 1901. "Bosanska vila" was published from 1885 to 1914 so it has many periods in nationalizing Muslims but "Zora" came out exactly during the fight for religious and educational autonomy of Bosnian Serbs and its character was influenced by e.g. Serbia. That is why it fulfilled special functions.<sup>38</sup>

Zora's subtitle "List za nauku, zabavu i književnost" (Bosanska vila's as well) shows that the Mostar's magazine supposed to teach. Such a goal was chosen by a historian Milenko M. Vukićević from Serbia. Serbian historicism in this period served primarily for educational purposes.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Vukićević who published in "Zora" started to show who Muslims supposed to be. In the ninth and tenth issues of the magazine from 1898, Serbian historian's description of the merits of Ali-aga Dadić from Mostar was published. Vukićević presented him as a Muslim who grown up in the spirit of fighting for the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina and who set an example of solidarity between "the brothers" in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The researcher, referring to the contemporary historic period for him, especially to Muslims who chose their own national way, wrote: "[...] the idea of independence is forgotten. This is the source of the misfortunes of Serbs three faiths in Bosnia and Herzegovina both in the past and today. And it will be until Serbs three faiths from Herzegovina do not understand that the liberation could happen only through agreement and common work."<sup>40</sup>

<sup>36</sup> I. Ramić, *Književni časopisi austrougarskog perioda kao prostor saobražavanja bošnjačke usmene tradicije i pisane književnost*, „Društvene i humanističke studije” 2016, br. 1, pp. 21, 29.

<sup>37</sup> S. Jarčević, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>38</sup> S. Vervaeke, *Centar i periferija u Austro-Ugarskoj. Dinamika izgradnje nacionalnih identiteta u Bosni i Hercegovini od 1878. do 1918. godine na primjeru književnih tekstova*, Zagreb-Sarajevo 2013, pp. 139, 237, 241.

<sup>39</sup> B. Zeliński, op. cit., p. 68.

<sup>40</sup> „[...] zaboravlja se sama ideja nezavisnosti. U tome je ležala sva nesreća Srba u Bosni i Hercegovini sve tri vjere kako u prošlom vijeku, tako i u ovom pa i danas. I ležaće sve donde



However, Dadić and his sons, also patriots like their father, did not succeed in the national mission but “they showed that the faith is not important when it comes to the good of the homeland.”<sup>41</sup>

In 1906 Vukićević left a more detailed description of Dadić’s and also Gradašćević’s merits for Serbian liberation. What is interesting, he published the Garašanin’s *Načertanije* under the title *Program spoljne politike Ilije Garašanina na koncu 1844 god.* in the Radical Party’s magazine “Delo. List za nauku, književnost i društveni život” in the same year.<sup>42</sup> It was a time when the Serbian propaganda of unification and “Serb Muslims” became stronger in Serbia due to a change of political circumstances after 1903.<sup>43</sup> The Karađorđević dynasty and the Radical Party returned to politics and Vukićević was close to them.<sup>44</sup> For example, “Delo” in 1908 published an obituary of pro-Serbian oriented Muslim Avdo Karabegović, a poet who was written to “Bosanska vila” and “Zora” and whose nickname was “Serb” (*Srbin*). It says that he was “the first apostle of the idea of brotherhood no matter of faith”<sup>45</sup> and that “he loved *Srpstvo* [a synonym of all Serbs] and his homeland the most in the world. One idea for him was to see it liberated. With this desire, he passed away [...] Let the Serbian earth, which he strongly loved, be light on him.”<sup>46</sup>

Vukićević surely was inspired by the first political programme of Great Serbia. One of his work, *Outstanding Serb Muslims [Znameniti Srbi Muslomani]*,<sup>47</sup> might be treated as a direct inspiration of one of the assumptions in the programme, as we already know, writing a common history of Serbs and Bosniaks “in the spirit of Slav nationality and unity.” For Vukićević, Gradašćević and Dadić were not *poturice/poturčenici*. They were “Serb Muslim” (*Srbin Musloman* or *Srbin muhmedanovac*). It means that they were ethnic Serbs but

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dok Srbi sve tri vjere Herceg Bosne ne uvede da im je spas samo u slozi i zajedničkom radu” (*Zora. List za zabavu, nauku i književnost*, 1898, br. 9).

<sup>41</sup> „Oni nisu uspjeli kao ni mnogi drugi, ali su pokazali kako se ne gleda na vjeru, kad se radi za dobro otadžbine” (*Zora. List za zabavu, nauku i književnost*, 1898, br. 10).

<sup>42</sup> Z. Despot, D. Tatić, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>43</sup> I. Banac, op. cit., p. 111.

<sup>44</sup> See more: Ch. Jelavich, *Milenko M. Vukićević: from Serbianism to Yugoslavism*, [in:] *Historians as Nation-Builders. Central and South-East Europe*, eds. D. Deletant, H. Hanak, London 1988, pp. 109–110 and next.

<sup>45</sup> “Avdo Karabegović, bio je prvi apostol one ideje: ‘Brat je mio, koje vjere bio’” (*Delo. List za nauku, književnost i društveni život*, 1908, br. 49, p. 359).

<sup>46</sup> „Od svega na svetu najviše je ljubio *Srpstvo* i svoju domovinu, i jedini ideal bio mu je, da je vidi oslobođenu. Sa tom željom je i umro [...] Laka mu bila srpska zamlja koju je tako žarko ljubio” (ibidem, p. 364).

<sup>47</sup> M. M. Vukićević, *Znameniti Srbi Muslomani*, Beograd 1906, [online] [https://www.rastko.rs/istorija/mvuk\\_muslimani.pdf](https://www.rastko.rs/istorija/mvuk_muslimani.pdf) [accessed: 18.04.2019].

Muslims by his religious affiliation. For example, Gradašćević was pious as Karadžić claimed. He respected and quoted Koran, used to pray five times a day and was a teetotaler.<sup>48</sup> For the other hand, the memory of Kosovo was a pattern of heroism, fame and national or even historical goals for his rebellion.<sup>49</sup>

As we could see, Islam was rather a harmless lifestyle not a factor determining nationality like Serbian descent. This propaganda image supposed to be the direct reason for adapting "other" Muslims to "our" Serbs. For Vukićević, earlier also for Karadžić, the bad influence of Islam was negligible because the Orthodox folk tradition was dominant even in families where Islam had been struck up root for generations. Serbian historian presented the patriotic image of neophytes, next to Gradašćević and Dadić also Mehmed Sokolović, Sinan-paša Sijerčić and Hasan-aga Krajišnik, who, in his theory, did not forget about their national heritage and, despite new religious culture, stayed legitimate members of the Serbian nation. Their activities supposed to be an example for other Serb Muslims and they supposed to become new Serbian national heroes. When the historian described Sokolović's case (which is different from the others because Sokolović represented the first generation of "Islamized Serbs") he wrote: "his work [mainly the restoration of the Patriarchate in Peć in 1557] shows how Serb can be a good Muslim who loves its own nation and is not afraid to be called Serb. Other Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina should understand this."<sup>50</sup>

### Other Examples from the 19<sup>th</sup> Century

Considering the next examples, we would treat the cases of Karadžić, Garašanin and Vukićević as exceptions which tried to familiarize outside Islam with inside Serbian world. Other researcher combined the religious attitude with the language concept. The combination two opposition nation categories, secular and religious or cultural versus ethnic, is a characteristic of Serbian discourse which

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<sup>48</sup> „[...] Husejin je bio pravi muslomanin; u svemu je živio po Kuranu, nije pio nikakava pića, molio se Bogu svaki dan pet puta, i često, razgovarajući se s kim, dizao je oči k nemu i šaptao neke stihove iz Korana [...]” (M. M. Vukićević, op. cit., p. 48).

<sup>49</sup> „Nema Srbina, kome srce živi ne zakuca, kad se primiče polju Kosovu, gdje su pali toliko srpski junaci, braneci srpsku državu i nezavisnost. Pa i ova kita Husejinovih Srba muslomana bješe zagrejana slavom i imenom svojih predaka [...]” (ibidem, p. 43).

<sup>50</sup> „Ovakav rad Mehmeda Sokolovića pokazuje: kako Srbin može biti i dobar musloman, pa da mu to ništa ne smeta da voli svoj narod, da mu ništa ne stoji na putu da se i sam Srbinom zove. Ovo bi trebalo dobro da shvate i uvide Srbi muslomani u Bosni i Hercegovini” (ibidem, p. 24).

concerns Muslims. It makes analysis Serbian perception of Muslim problematical, ambiguous and fluid. We are dealing with both positive and negative attitudes towards Muslims at the same time. Many Serbian authors generally include them in the Serbian nation because of language and Serbian roots but never completely abandoned the old stereotype about the influence of alien Islam on them, for example like Georgije Magarašević and Spiridon Gopčević. It should be emphasized, however, that they left travelogues behind which in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was very popular but was not free of stereotypes.

Magarašević, Serbian writer and historian who declared an obligation to continue work of Dositej Obradović (who actually laid the foundations of the language concept) and Karadžić, the founder of "Serbska letopis" ("Serbian Chronicle"), one of the first Serbian literary periodical<sup>51</sup>, in his memoirs from a few days trip to reviving Serbia in 1827<sup>52</sup> described the case of *Turci*, it means *Bošnjaci/poturčeni Srblji* (*Turci, po većoj česti Bošnjaci, dakle poturučeni Srblji*). Just to mention, his memoirs were the first written record of the stereotype *poturica gori od Turčina*.<sup>53</sup> As he claimed they were Serbs but added:

What a merciless destiny did to our brothers. The change of faith changed them completely! They did not want to know that they come from Slavic line, they were defective but Serbs who persecute their brothers [...], they boast about Islam. Accepting a foreign religion, renouncing their family, origin and blinded by fanaticism, *poturice* became much worse than Turks!<sup>54</sup>

As we could see, he accepted Karadžić's concept of "Serbs three faiths" but did not change his religious attitude and repeated the old image of *poturice*.

Gopčević, Serbian-Austrian astronomer and historian born in Trieste, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in his book *Old Serbia and Macedonia* wrote:

It is true that Mohammedan Serbs (*muhamedovski Srbi*) are not Turks because they did not change the language. However, they lost their national identity in the first generation. Mohammedan Bosniaks (*muhamedovski Bošnjaci*) show a dangerous example as well!

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<sup>51</sup> See more: *The History of the Letopis Matice srpske*, [online] <https://www.maticasrpska.org.rs/en/letopis-matice-srpske/> [accessed: 16.08.2019].

<sup>52</sup> Đ. Magarašević, *Putovanje po Srbiji u 1827. godini*, Beograd 1983.

<sup>53</sup> B. Aleksov, op. cit., p. 232.

<sup>54</sup> „[...] Šta je nemilostiva sudba s braćom našom počinila. Izmena zakona i vere kako ih je sasvim izmenila! Neće da znaju, ni da čuju, da su grane slavenskoga stable, no suve i otpadoše, već Srblje, rođenu braću svoju gone, i što su preci njiovi u krajnoj nuždi i nevolji, oružjem tiranstva prinuđeni, primili, tim se sada potomci gorde i veličaju. Primivši tuđ zakon, odrekli su se roda i kolena i fanatizmom zaslepljeni poturice jesu gori od Turaka! [...]” (Đ. Magarašević, op. cit., p. 262).

They do not understand the Turkish language at all and if they speak Serbian, they do not consider themselves Serbs but Turks [...]. *Muhamedovski Bošnjaci* claim that they are important “like Turks” and much better than their Christian brothers. In point of fact, they are much worse. They are renegades and idlers.<sup>55</sup>

Again, the concept of “Serbs three faith” simultaneously with the religious stereotype was updated but Gopčević’s case is interesting because of three reasons.

First of all, he distributed Serbs amongst Bosniaks. He shows a new perspective which started to be popular from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century—converts were also in “Old Serbia” (*Raška*, Kosovo and Macedonia). The use of the language concept as a basis of a nation was dominant from him and its transfer to Macedonian and Macedonian Muslims (without a distinction that they are *Torbeše*), played a huge role in the Serbo-Bulgarian conflict over Macedonia.<sup>56</sup> What more, he called Albanian population of Kosovo “*Arnautashi*” which means “Albanians of alleged Serbian descent” so they were the same converts like *Poturice*.<sup>57</sup> He probably never did research in Kosovo and his two theories were manipulations.<sup>58</sup> Robert Elsie writes about his study—it “is a pseudo-scholarly work on ethnic relations in the region that paved the way for unprecedented territorial claims by Serbia.”<sup>59</sup> What is important for the text—he treated Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina and “Old Serbia” like one group which took over the old stereotype.

Second of all, he used the adjective “Mohammedan” which was characteristic Western European way to describe Muslims. The lexeme could be a synonym to “Muslim” but generally had offensive (also wrong) meaning.<sup>60</sup> Gopčević, who probably used it because of his ties with Western Europe, might use it as a synonym to negative word *poturice*. However, the adjective was also used by Vukićević, Karadžić and Garašanin in a positive context. Due to irregularly

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<sup>55</sup> „Istina, da se muhamedovski Srbi ne turče, jer pridržavaju svoj jezik, ali oni sa svim izgube već u prvom kolenu srpsku narodnu svest. Muhamedovski Bošnjaci pokazuju isti grozni primer! Ma da ne razumu baš ništa turski, i ako u opšte srpski govore, to se ipak ne smatraju, da su Srbi već Turci [...]. Muhamedovski Bošnjaci drže, da su oni «kao Turci» neka osobitost i da su mnogo bolji od svoje hrišćanske braće, ma da su u stvari mnogo gori, i to odmetnici i lenjištine” (S. Gopčević, *Stara Srbija i Makedonija*, Beograd 1890, p. 182).

<sup>56</sup> See more: O. Milosavljević, op. cit., pp. 209–214.

<sup>57</sup> See more: ibidem, pp. 221–223.

<sup>58</sup> Ch. Promitzer, *Austria and the Balkans: Exploring the Role of Travelogues in the Construction an Area*, [in:] *Southeast European Studies in a Globalizing World*, ed. K. Kaser, Graz 2015, pp. 204–205.

<sup>59</sup> R. Elsie, *A Biographical Dictionary of Albanian History*, London 2012, p. 177.

<sup>60</sup> E.W. Said, op. cit., p. 110.

existence this term in Serbian nationalistic discourse, it is complicated to advise the exact meaning. Third of all, he might also broaden the meaning of *poturice*. A better position in social hierarchy and exploitation of *raja* made them idlers. As a matter of fact, it is consequences of Ottoman administration, but in some later works, this theory was a basis to a theory of their intellectual disability.

### Serbs and *Poturice* in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Due to the development of geography, ethnographic, ethnopsychological research, fieldwork and, of course, different political circumstances (the end of the Ottoman Empire and creation Kingdom of Yugoslavia), we shall deal with a new perspective about Muslims and Islam as the Ottoman heritage in the Balkan Peninsula. Romantic and stereotypical theories about Muslims could probably be seized through field research about nations, their states and geographical influence on the nations.<sup>61</sup> The most important Serbian geographer and ethnologist was Jovan Cvijić. His studies from 1887 to 1915 were published as *The Balkan Peninsula and the South Slavic lands* (first in Paris, 1918) which is the most popular scientific work of him. Other researchers who worked in a similar period were Jovan Hadži Vasiljević and Čedomil Mitrinović.<sup>62</sup>

Although Cvijić's theories about four types of Slavic psyche (*dinarski tip*, *centralni tip*, *istočnobalkanski tip*, *panonski tip*) and influence of geographical environment on psyche each type, were popular (also criticized),<sup>63</sup> the research results of his imitators, Vasiljević and Mitrinović, were not. Vasiljević was a historian and ethnographer who mainly carried out research on the Old Serbia (like Gopčević). That is why one of his works was devoted to Muslims from those regions—*Muslims of our blood in South Serbia* (1924).<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, we do not know much about Mitrinović<sup>65</sup> who published e.g. work titled *Our Muslims. A Study for Orientation in the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Muslims Issue*

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<sup>61</sup> See more: M. Górny, „Futurystyczna geografia”. *Rola geografów w kształtowaniu granic Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej i Południowo-Wschodniej w latach 1914–1920*, „Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej” 2013, t. XLVIII, pp. 117–139.

<sup>62</sup> B. Aleksov, op. cit., pp. 239–240, 242.

<sup>63</sup> M. Górny, op. cit., p. 129 and next.

<sup>64</sup> J. H. Vasiljević, *Muslimani naše krvi u Južnoj Evropi*, Beograd 1924.

<sup>65</sup> He was probably a brother of Dimitrije Mitrinović, Serbian philosopher, poet, revolutionary and formulator the political movement “Yough Bosnia” (*Mlada Bosnia*). What is interesting, works of Čedomil are quoted even by modern researchers.

(1926).<sup>66</sup> Comparing three theories about influence of Islam on Muslims which, first, they belong to Cvijić's "Dinaric type"<sup>67</sup> (*dinarski tip*; this type of South Slavs had the largest range and besides represented the true spirit of the Serbian nation), second, come from South Serbia (Vasijević) and, thirdly, come from Bosnia and Herzegovina (Mitrinović), interesting questions are—(1) do those geographical works present different from one other analyses about influence of Islam, (2) do those works present new theories about Islam, it means lacking mythological and religion images because of the new research and political perspective; if yes—how do they treat this Ottoman heritage and (3) why local confessor of Islam started to be called "Muslims" (*muslims*) by Vasiljević and Mitrinović, so what was their place in Serbian nation then?

Cvijić in his work, *Psychic characteristics of the South Slavs* which was the second part of *The Balkan Peninsula*, considered Muslims from Sava river, Bosnia, Hercegovina, past Sandžak to Kosovo, *muhamedanski* or *muslimanski Srbi* and *muslimanski, muhamedanski* or *poislamljeni Dinarci*. He did not distinguish them because it was basic argumentations about the existence of Yugoslav unity and, consequently, the necessity of a common state.<sup>68</sup> Regarding the influence of Islam he claimed: "Probably no other faith changes the whole life and character of a nation like Islam."<sup>69</sup> This religion at the same time changed and did not the interior "our" world. Muslims were "ours" (*Srbi, Dinarci*) but "aliens" (*muslimanski* and *muhamedanski* were synonyms for Cvijić), however, main Dinaric features had to be saved. Just to mention, Cvijić was inspired by Karadžić's idea of the folk and originality of Serbs. For example, the Dinaric type was most brave during the fights with Ottoman Turks, that is one of the reasons, Cvijić recognized "Dinaric Serbs" as the most valuable part of the nation.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Č. Mitrinović, *Naši muslimani. Studija za orijentaciju pitanja bosansko-hercegovačkih muslimana*, Beograd 1926.

<sup>67</sup> Although Cvijić used the term "rasa" (rase), he did not entirely mean racial theories of the Dinaric racial type which were popular in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, see: A. Stojanović, *Eugenics and Racial Hygiene in the Theory and Political Thought of the Serbian/Yugoslav Extreme Right 1918–1944*, "Acta historica medicinae, pharmaciae, veterinae" 2015, No. 1 (34), pp. 18–28. Also Njegoš, Magarašević and Gopčević (and others) understood the rase similar to Cvijić, mainly as using Serbian language and demonstrating Serbian national consciousness.

<sup>68</sup> M. Górný, op. cit., p. 137.

<sup>69</sup> „[...] Možda nijedna vera ne menja tako duboko celokupan život i karakter nekog naroda kao islam. [...] ali ipak nije mogao uništiti najglavnije dinarske osobine" (J. Cvijić, *Psihičke osobine Južnih Slovena*, Beograd 2016, p. 102).

<sup>70</sup> D. Gil, *Prawosławie...*, op. cit., pp. 110–111, 159.

Muslims stayed Serbs because of language, the memory of Slavic origins,<sup>71</sup> surnames ending in *ić* like Serbian and memory of Christian ancestors, it means *slava*.<sup>72</sup> Cvijić alternated between religion/biological and language concept of Serbian nation which was, as we already know, popular also in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. However, Serbian religion tradition is narrowed here to *slava*, not a myth. Slava is a Serbian Orthodox Christian holiday of family's patron saint who gave it the surname. Meanwhile, *slava* is not only characteristic of Orthodox Serbs in the Balkan Peninsula but the argument of religion syncretism allows Cvijić authoritarian considered Muslims as Serbs according to the ideology "where is Serb, here is *slava*" (*gde je Srbin, tu je i slava*) and show that Islam has never changed the Orthodox and Slavic tradition.<sup>73</sup> Additionally, this theory helped united the nation in the face of territorial fragmentation.<sup>74</sup>

Apart from some unchanged Dinaric features, Islam did not let converts be "rightful Serbs." As Cvijić claimed they opposed Serbian liberation and only noble Muslims could reconcile Islam and Serbian heritage, like, the same though Vukićević, Mehmed Sokolović did.<sup>75</sup> Unlike the historian, he repeated that other Muslims wanted to keep their estates and higher position in the social hierarchy, that is why they converted into Islam and because of new religion started to be conquerors like the Ottoman Turks.<sup>76</sup> Also, they thought they were better Muslims than the Ottoman Turks and wanted to show that they were worthy new faith, e.g. they were even willing to proselytism.<sup>77</sup> Cvijić, as well as Magarašević, called it fanaticism. What more, better social position and exploit works of *raja* made them believed that human work is useful because of Allah's destiny (*k'smet*)<sup>78</sup> so they became wean of thinking and working (Gopčević).<sup>79</sup>

This conviction came from the stereotype *poturica gori od Turčina*. Although Cvijić made an extensive characterization of Muslim character traits, this is the main negative feature of "outside" Islam. Of course, Cvijić next to

<sup>71</sup> And also family ties that is why Muslims from Montenegro and Raška preserved "blood revenge" (*krvna osveta*). J. Cvijić, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>72</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>73</sup> O. Milosavljević, op. cit., pp. 29–30, 53.

<sup>74</sup> D. Gil, *Evolucija...*, op. cit., p. 4/21.

<sup>75</sup> „Samo su najplemenitiji mogli u prošlosti pomiriti sa islamom svoje srpsko poreklo i pokoravati se, svesno ili ne, nacionalnim težnjama. [...]. Jedan od najznatnijih, Mehmed Sokolović, obnovio je 1557. godine srpsku patrijaršiju [...]” (J. Cvijić, op. cit., p. 114).

<sup>76</sup> Ibidem, p. 107.

<sup>77</sup> Ibidem, pp. 112–114.

<sup>78</sup> Actually, this word is general used but not accepted in Islam.

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem, p. 104.

subjective image that they were, for example, hospitable and kind (always like other Slavs),<sup>80</sup> presented objective and familiar Ottoman influences like food, coffee, smoking, type of houses, position of Muslim women and Turkish words,<sup>81</sup> but, above all, he updated the out-of-date religious stereotype although he based on the Karadžić's idea. What is interesting, some Muslims features, like uncritical, naivety or lack of energy,<sup>82</sup> are characteristic of Edward Said's discourse of Orientalism which indicates certain regularity in the West European and Serbian perception of Muslims.<sup>83</sup>

Vasijević, who carried out his research from 1912 to 1913, used the word *muslimani* which started to be popular then but he used it as a synonym to *poturčenjaci*. Due to the place of research, he also recognized Macedonian Muslims—*Torbeši*, but even those Muslims were perceived in the negative meaning of *poturice*. As author claimed, they had Serbian roots like Serbian language and surnames, Serbian village names,<sup>84</sup> knowledge of old Serbian folk songs about e.g. Kosovo and celebration of slava,<sup>85</sup> meanwhile, they did want to remember about this. Instead, they would like to be fanatical and better Muslims than Ottoman Turks itself. Sharing faith with them and Turkish protection made *poturčenjaci* become *mekušci* (Mollusca) and *poltroni* (a word from the Italian language which means poltroons). Generally, it means that they were sluggards as they used to live in better conditions because of the Ottoman regime based on Islam. It was a reason for the mutual reluctance between Christians and Muslims. Additionally, they were timid and this is also a consequence of religious conversion, as the author claimed. They were aware of their betrayal, which is why they fell shame along with fear.<sup>86</sup>

Vasijević, as we could see, did not bring to the since new non-religion reflection about Muslims and the influence of Islam but unlike to Cvijić he presented them as a closed, distanced, inhospitable group. What more, they do not understand, as the researcher claimed, that there was such a thing as a brotherhood between two religions, Christian and Islam, but one nation (*brat mio, koje vere bio*). It was also the guilt of Islam.<sup>87</sup>

Mitrinović repeated mentioned stereotypical perception about *Muslimani* as well. He openly claimed that theory *poturica gori od Turčina* was justified

<sup>80</sup> Ibidem, p. 109.

<sup>81</sup> Ibidem, p. 111.

<sup>82</sup> Ibidem, p. 105.

<sup>83</sup> See: E. Said, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>84</sup> J. H. Vasijević, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Ibidem, p. 24.

<sup>86</sup> Ibidem, p. 27.

<sup>87</sup> Ibidem, pp. 20–21, 27–28.



because of Muslim fanaticism and proselytism.<sup>88</sup> In his, what is important, theoretical work (unlike Cvijić's and Vasiljević's), they were also sluggards because of the Ottoman system, they did not like to think, they believed in destiny (*k'smet*) and were a closed group but the group which would like to show itself in a favorable light (some features were presented by Said). For the last theory, the proof was a quotation from Njegoš's *Mountain Wreath* that "no one lies as disgustingly as Turčin" (*niko grđe ko Turčin ne laže*).<sup>89</sup> For the one hand, he also claimed that Islam was established falsely and did not have a key influence on Slavic soul and race,<sup>90</sup> but, for the other hand, he asserted that when the "racial element" was fresh, Serbs gave the Ottoman Empire outstanding individuals (he might have Sokolović in mind like other Serbian activists).<sup>91</sup> However, the researcher went the furthest in his analysis. He considered the influence of Islam, exactly above mentioned features, also on Muslim homosexuality and alcoholism.

Mitrinović wrote that Muslims "were close to taking drugs but they did not have them so they choose alcohol." Drinking alcohol, even though Islam forbids it, was caused by new political circumstances, the Austro-Hungarian administration.<sup>92</sup> It showed their unbelievableness in being Muslims and their moral and social decline as well. Serbian researcher paid special attention to homosexuality as a direct Ottoman trait.<sup>93</sup> Islamic East or Orient, as Said named it, was an inexhaustible source of descriptions of all sexual deviations, like e.g. homosexuality, for the Western part of the world which was closed in sexual issues then.<sup>94</sup> Non-heterosexual relations had even been recognized as the main source of the collapse of systems built on the basis of Islam.<sup>95</sup> In Mitrinović's case, we deal with a reverse situation—the fall of the Ottoman Empire became the cause of homosexual tendencies that did not occur in the Slavic world before. Considering it first and foremost as a social issue which has to be solved, the researcher created the basis for the theory of the need to nationalize Muslims from Bosnia and Herzegovina. The confessors of Islam are presented here as a problem that needs to be solved, which also Said recognised as a feature of Orientalism discourse.<sup>96</sup> The first step should be "social anti-

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<sup>88</sup> Č. Mitrinović, op. cit., pp. 38–39.

<sup>89</sup> Ibidem, pp. 75, 105–106.

<sup>90</sup> See footnote number 65.

<sup>91</sup> Ibidem, pp. 43, 109.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem, p. 128.

<sup>93</sup> Ibidem, p. 135.

<sup>94</sup> E. Said, op. cit., pp. 160–161, 279, 281; S. El Feki, *Seks i cytatela. Życie intymne w arabskim świecie przemian*, tłum. A. Nowakowska, Wołowiec 2015, pp. 28–30.

<sup>95</sup> S. El Feki, op. cit., p. 38.

<sup>96</sup> E. Said, op. cit., p. 303.

-Islamization.”<sup>97</sup> Mitrinović additionally associated homosexual issues with theories of lower type of Serbian people<sup>98</sup> (unlike Cvijić who claimed that Serbs, especially from Herzegovina, were the purest type of Dinaric type). As a matter of fact, the theory was not new (see for example Magarašević or Vasiljević and his comparison to Mollusca), but in this case, belonging to the lower type was another proof of the necessity for full assimilation of Muslims.<sup>99</sup> Interestingly, Islam did not disturb as a religion.

## Conclusions

The stereotype of *poturice* and the bad influence of Islam on them has a special place in the Serbian nationalistic discourse. For the one hand, it stayed a similar system of perception and vocabulary because even the erasing of the term “*poturice*” and replacing it with “Serb Muslim” did not change the reception. *Poturice* were admittedly considered Serbs but were not completely recognized as rightful members of the Serbian nation because of Islam. The image of this religion, which derives from the anti-Ottoman character of the Serbian national identity, portrayed it as something foreign and negative. For the other hand, from the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, we were dealing with an attempt to tame Islam among Serbs and, what is interesting, the same vocabulary was used. However, the modern concept of a nation based on the Serbian language did not help. Although it was accepted, promoted and stood out right next to the Orthodox folk tradition, the religion stayed the most important for Serbs and influenced on perceptions of “others.” Probably, because of this, Serbian-Muslim alliance from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and Serbian identity among the Muslims did not have a chance.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> Č. Mitrinović, op. cit., p. 168.

<sup>98</sup> Ibidem, p. 138.

<sup>99</sup> E. Said, op. cit., pp. 302–303.

<sup>100</sup> See: I. Banac, op. cit., p. 339 and next.

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